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only two persons were saved" /translated from French/.

to this day by the Tarunta, the reports of missionaries and European travelers also refer to them. In Hyades (1)1 302 we read: "Shipwrecks of canoes are very frequent and annually cause a high mortality. Mr. Bridges in his unpublished work cites many accidents of this kind. shipwreck of five canoes, 35 persons drowned. shipwreck of two canoes, 13 drowned..." /translated from French/. The accident is usually caused by overconfidence. These people are extremely reckless, and, as Bridges (1)1 15 expresses it "carelessness in trusting themselves with comparative strangers" /cited in English/, which every observer verifies. In more recent times, however, unprincipled thoughtlessness destroys many a life when Indians in a highly intoxicated state venture out on the treacherous waves although they do not have control of themselves.

Supremely confident of their own ability, these people may even decide to take long journeys in their fragile vessel. As a rule, however, they stay within the narrow confines of their native district. every dialect group has one (p. 189 /unmentioned/). Certain occasions, however, almost always the chase after the large anime seal, Otaria (Eutocephalus cumulis), and the pursuit of a sick, weary whale, make them forget, in their eagerness, how far behind they have left the coast. It has been proved that a few families visited Isla Hidalgo; others are supposed to have ventured as far as the Diego Ramirez Islands. They are guided in their journeys by their exact knowledge of the locality and by an excellent gift of orientation.

Soon after the opening of the mission station in Ushuaia individual canoes arrived from great distances, even some from the Beaglechop. For example, Bridges (1)1 15 mentions incidentally: "I know several natives of Cockawaia[who come to Ushuaia in the East and in the opposite direction as far as Port Gallant and Harvey Sound. this distance is considerably over two /hundred/ hundred miles" /cited in English/. Our Fuegians can accomplish these astonishingly distant journeys because, wherever they land, they provide for their needs in life, namely, meat from the land diverse types of animals, wood for the indispensable fire, and pieces of fur to protect their bodies.

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anchor in Bahía San Francisco at Cape Horn, and there he met a few Fuegians. Their weapons were "slings, bows and arrows. The latter are neatly made, and pointed with obsidian. Their bows and arrows are employed for the destruction of birds" /cited in English/ (p. 111 /Id., see foreign text, untranslated portion; the passage referred to is in English/). Wilkes:129 speaks of these weapons, though not in detail; actually he bartered for them among our Fuegians and to this day there is a bow save in the Peabody Museum in Salem, U.S.A. Colnett:xxxvii:40, however, who was a lieutenant serving under the commander mentioned above, says emphatically that "their arms consisted of bows, arrows, and spears" /cited in English/ (p. 119 /Id., see foreign text, untranslated portion; the passage referred to is in English/) (158).

> 158. Cooper:208 admits that "some of the explorers who visited the Yahgans in the earlier part of the last century found them in possession of the bow and arrow" /cited in English/. His qualification, "but it was not common," does not seem correct to me.

When, toward the middle of the last century, the Anglican missionaries made their first contacts with our Fuegians, bows and arrows had by no means disappeared, but were somewhat less prominent. For example, in March, 1864, Stirling traded for them with European articles (VSA:XI, 237; 1864) and Bridges (j):314 mentions them repeatedly (160). /463/ Later, however,

> 160. When he (k):229 speaks of the Kina ceremony, in which the men threaten the women with their various weapons, this does not mean that the bow at that time had become merely a plaything of the men.

they were used progressively less, and the members of the Mission Scientifique ran across them only very occasionally. As Hyades (g):360 and (h):36 frankly admits: "They are actually very rarely used" /translated from French/. Nevertheless, Martial: 192

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505 Nothing indicates that the Yamana would permit actual polyandry (60). So-called sexual promiscuity was already

60. On April 22, 1871, Bridges (i):21 clearly stated: "In no case has a woman been known to have more than one husband at a time, but successively some have had two or even more" /cited in English/, and later he (h):210 repeated: "A woman has never been known to have more than one husband at a time" /translated from Spanish/. Many a married woman, however, secretly had an illicit affair. [837]

definitely disavowed by Fitz-Roy (a):182: "Jemmy Button often talked of his father, mother, brothers, and sisters, also of uncles and aunts, after he knew enough of our language to understand distinctly the relationship. Now this could not have been the case had not his father and mother lived together permanently as man and wife, according to the clear account which he himself always gave of their custom in this respect" /cited in English/. [197] The Anglican missionaries, beginning with Stirling, endeavored to put an end to polygamy; Bridges even obtained an injunction from the government (61). Unfortunately, the missionaries did

61. On May 28, 1887, he reported: "Again, cases of natives taking a second wife are punished by imprisonment, and thus happily prevented" /cited in English/ (MM:XXI, 176; 1887).

not take into account the fact that in some families a second wife was demanded by economic necessity. As such, however, polygamy is contrary to the general feeling of justice among the Yamana, and reasonable exceptions are merely tolerated (p. 440).

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1. The First Observations

X881 114 The Yamana guard their secret youth initiation with extreme vigilance. A stranger would never be able to surprise them in the midst of it, and it would be still more impossible for him to force his way in unobserved. From the start, therefore, it was impossible for the navigators of earlier times to find out anything about it from direct observation. In general their stay in one place or another was much too short to obtain even a few superficial observations. They would have had to fulfill quite different preliminary conditions if they had wanted to get at these particularly well-guarded cultural possessions. It would be futile to look in their travel accounts for reports about the initiation. The Europeans who later visited the territory of the Yamana as gold-hunters and sealers showed neither an aptitude for ethnographic observations nor an understanding of what they saw in the way of native customs. Finally, those who settled there as farmers dismissed everything indigenous with the contemptuous shrug of the self-confident, mindless, conceited, civilized human being. Completely unobserved by any of them, the Yamana continued to hold their secret festive gatherings with a certain regularity.

X881 •797 114 After the Anglican mission became well acquainted with the Yamana and their way of life was constantly observed by the missionaries, it could not fail to happen that the attention of the latter was called to the occasional gathering of many families in the same place and that, in the course of decades of close proximity, they obtained a few faint hints from the natives. The missionaries, also, however, paid far too little attention to these first clues to put such an important institution, which the Čiéxaus pre-eminently is, in the service of their evangelistic efforts. Quite generally they regarded and treated the cultural heritage of the Yamana contemptuously (p. 322 /untranslated/).

X881 114 Again it is Bridges to whom we are indebted for the first discoveries and who was the only one among all the missionaries who gave us brief but valuable reports. From his writings we cannot infer with certainty whether he distinguishes clearly between the actual youth initiation, Čiéxaus, and the very different men's ceremony, kina. In his Dictionary he lists many of the so-called

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186 423 of language and way of life no less than on sharing the same native region. They regard the fragmented maze of islands within the triangle between the Cape Horn cliffs, Brecknock Peninsula, and Punta Julieta at Bahía Aguirre as their country, within whose boundaries they alone, from ancient times, have the exclusive right to live and to hunt. Actually they make their property rights, in the widest sense of the word, apply to this whole area.

423 648 They condemn the crossing of these borders by their Indian neighbors in the northeast, as well as in the southwest, as trespass on their land, simply because it belongs to them alone (380).

> 380. Spegazzini (a):168 has mentioned "that the boundaries of a tribe are well defined; no Alucǂluf /Alacaluf/ canoe goes into Iajan /Yahgan/ territory unless it has a particular and important mission" /translated from Spanish/.

They do not drive off the intruders with weapons, but they regard their encroachment quite /964/ frankly as a legal offense. Only the families who reside in an area may grant their neighbors free entrance if personal reasons make it advisable.

423 648 797 They also regard it as robbery when Europeans settle on their land and crowd out their countrymen. For the last few decades they have become resigned to this condition of constraint because they feel too weak to resist. Formerly they overwhelmed many a European ship with hostility and made its landing difficult in order to deprive the unpopular Whites of any possibility or desire to settle here (p. 250 /untranslated/). For the same reason even the missionaries were made to feel the resistance of the natives. For example, it cost the former much toil and labor to found the mission station in Ushuaia, but this did not make that region the property of the missionaries, according to the Indians, and they actually had to submit to all kinds of annoyances. It was only after direct negotiations that Bridges (MM:IV, 133;1870) could content himself with the following solution: "I got full permission from the natives of Ushuaia to take possession of any land for house and gardens. Next time I intend giving them some thing as a small acknowledgment" /cited in English/. Although

423 /964 cont./
648 opposition for a long time has led to absolutely no result, the
●791 Yamana have never given up their exclusive legal claim to their native region.

423 They trace this claim back to their so-called revolutionary
173 myth, which tells that in ancient times the women who were playing kina pushed into this region and continued their secret ceremony here. Since this time, they say, all the Yamana have remained in one and the same place, and inasmuch as they were the first to take possession of this land for themselves, it has become their property.

423 The nature of the landscape has divided the whole Yamana
635 territory into five large districts in which an equal number of dialects have developed (p. 199 /untranslated/). Each dialect group regards its home as, in a special sense, the common property of all its members. It is the field in which each one may devote himself to the hunt for food without restraint. To begin with, the individual has no vested right to a specific animal and no priority in obtaining special products of the land. Without discrimination, everything within the boundaries of the dialect region is available to everyone living there. Thus, with regard to the natural products of their circumscribed homeland, there is no personal property right; this becomes valid only at the moment when a person appropriates something for himself.

423 It is no less important to point out that only the members
635 of the same dialect group may take what their circumscribed
685 area /965/ holds. Persons whose homes are in a neighboring district generally do not have the right to cross the boundaries. A few exceptional cases are regarded as legally valid. If these exceptions are misused, however, disputes may be kindled and, to be sure, precisely because of violation of the sovereign rights which only the actual owners of this region enjoy. They alone may indiscriminately appropriate in it whatever they need in the way of animals and goods, even if some of it serves in barter with people of another group.

It is obvious that every individual will defend the common possessions of his dialect group, to which he belongs by birth or marriage and in which he himself has a share. Whenever and wherever he observes encroachment by a neighbor, he at least disapproves of it and speaks of it to others in his immediate

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feeling that became known to me was shown by York Minster, who, when Mr. Bynoe shot a few very young ducks as specimens, declared in the most solemn manner: 'oh! Mr. Bynoe, much rain, much snow, much blowing.' This was evidently meant as punishment in retaliation for devastation by human beings."

While these three young Fuegians were in London in 1830 they were carefully examined. In the "Phrenological Remarks" given in Fitz-Roy (b):148, "strong feelings for a Supreme Being" /cited in English/ are set forth. These few words are to me no proof for the definite and clear form of belief in a deity which our Yamana actually have. Compare Koppers, in Anthropos, Vol. 22, p. 286; 1927.

Nevertheless, from all sides Darwin's assertions have /1037/ received full credence and the opinions of subsequent decades continued to refer to him, although toward the end of his life he changed his opinion in favor of the Fuegians (p. 106 /untranslated/). On the other hand, Roskoff:49 did not take a stand until rather late when he briefly corrected Darwin as follows: "But this does not deny the Fuegians any trace of religion, even though it cannot be surprising that the Englishman does not find among them his own belief in a God."

• [197] A few decades after the second trip of the "Beagle," that is to say, in more recent times, English missionaries began their activity on the Cape Horn Archipelago, and after that the number of European visitors to that region increased. They all, practically without exception, sought help from the missionaries, or at least had temporary contact with them. This is true first of Bove and his companions who crossed Tierra del Fuego in 1882 and 1884 and stayed for a while in Ushuaia with the missionaries there (p. 146 /untranslated/). Relying on their reports, he (g):236 first of all judges: "The Fuegians are not very superstitious and they have only very rudimentary religious beliefs" /translated from Italian/. He also (d):297 and (e):159 asserts: "They have a good and an evil

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conviction: "We do not believe that we can modify our opinion about the absence of religious feeling among the Fuegians. We observed them very attentively from this point of view during the year that we spent among them; we were never able to perceive the slightest hint of any kind of cult or religious idea" /translated from French/.

One has the impression that, in view of such definite statements, there could be absolutely no contradiction (7). Even later,

7. Martial:212 takes into account the serious difficulties of the investigation being discussed, as a result of which, he says, it would not be easy "to obtain readily a clear idea of their beliefs about the deity and a future life" /translated from French/.

Dabbene (b):202, for example, maintains: "There is no knowledge that a religion exists among the Yahgan, since they practice no rite that reveals any cult whatsoever" /translated from Spanish/. According to Spears:70, "they knew nothing of God, and had no word expressive of such an idea" /cited in English/. Furlong (b): 137 agrees. The Fuegian "has no religion in the general acceptance of the term...No word for God, Creator, or pray has ever appeared in his language, nor from any action, ceremony, or custom can a belief in these things be inferred" /cited in English/. Lothrop (b):171, however, already had access to some of my conclusions which he took into account. Thus, more recent research also corner to the opinion that the Yamana are without any kind of religion. Compare the data that Cooper:148 assembled.

2. Opinions of Missionaries

Although the men who put themselves at the service of the Fuegians through their mission work are only now being heard, this does not change the well-proved fact that they were the ones who told ignorant navigators and travelers of their own experiences and observations. They were obliged, for professional reasons, so to speak, to investigate the religious ideas of their wards.

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111 114 197 At the beginning of their activity they occasionally mention -- as did one or another navigator, for example, Parker Snow:I, 337 -- that during a brief religious service the Fuegians who happened to be present were silent and reverent. To me this is no proof of their own religious feeling, for such an attitude is not unusual among them. Despard wrote on October 4, /1039/ 1859 (VP:VII, 51;1860), as follows: "No word has appeared for God, or Creator, or pray. They have a word for Spirit Cashpeak, and they are very uneasy at hearing it, for they say they shall see it if named" /cited in English/. He (b):698 contradicts himself, however, in the sentence: "The Firelander has no religion at all. He knows neither God, nor idol, nor spirit, and has accordingly no word for either of these" /cited in English/. Stirling, on the other hand, nowhere expresses himself definitely about the religious ideas of the Yamana.

The position of the much-quoted Bridges on this question deserves all the more consideration inasmuch as most of the travelers in Tierra del Fuego during the last decades have adopted his opinion. In 1866 he (a):181 first published a general survey of the living conditions, institutions, and customs of the Yamana. He also devoted a few lines to their conceptions of supernatural things and so-called spirits. He disposes of the religious in the true sense with a single sentence and merely says: "They have no knowledge of God, no thoughts of a future state, either of reward or punishment" /cited in English/. Strangely enough, Bridges did not deviate from this first opinion *even after decades of association* with the Yamana and often repeated it, word for word. For example, he (h):207 says: "They do not acknowledge a creator and neither have any idea of the future nor expect anything after death" /translated from Spanish/. Moreover, he (k):237 says again: "They lacked any idea of a Supreme Being, although they believed in the existence of spirits or souls... They offer no sacrifices nor have any idea of atonement for sin" /translated from Spanish/. Finally the unequivocal opinion (e):332 follows: "As for religion, we can say that they had none." If occasionally an Indian showed signs of religious feeling, Bridges put it down solely to the success of missionary influence (8).

8. Once a lame man said to him "that God struck him. It is pleasant to realize that the

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knowledge of God is taking root in the minds of the people, and that they themselves attribute to Him the acts of his providence" /cited in English/ (MM:X, 10;1876).

His co-workers in particular echoed him in this assumption, especially the younger ones. The last two of them, John Lawrence and John Williams, emphatically assured me, independently of each other, that they had never come across religious expressions among the Indians which were their own. Each of these missionaries took the view of the other without examining it and blithely adhered to this conviction. Aspinall:270 stated it once more: The Yamana "devoid of all religious ideas and duties, know nothing except the vague concept of spirits of the dead which go about in the forests and which they fear."

Thus, like the Europeans who visited the Cape Horn region, all the missionaries labored under the false impression that the Yamana are completely irreligious. Every unprejudiced critic will realize that they did not come closer to the facts because of their negative attitude toward the /1040/ Indians. Elsewhere (p. 322 /untranslated/) it was proved in detail that Bridges especially had no desire whatever for a calm and just evaluation of the store of ideas of the Indians; in fact, faced with his ill-humor, they carefully and purposely concealed what was dear to them and what he would have defamed with his disdainful, disparaging remarks. After I personally had learned many of the prayer formulas with which they address themselves to their deity, I freely expressed my pleasure. More than once on such occasions Nelly Lawrence would add: We never told Thomas Bridges these beautiful things, for he would have been scornful and ridiculed us!" At the end of my fourth journey I again presented to the worthy Reverend John Lawrence a short summary of what I had learned about the religious heritage of the Yamana. This time, too, as on my third visit, he was sincerely pleased, for it meant that shortly before the end of his life he was permitted to see corrected a false opinion of the Yamana, to which the missionaries had also contributed.

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during the journey to England and back had influenced his charges in a religious way, he, and Darwin as well, would in some way have expressed themselves about the results. Their accounts do not contain a single word on the subject. Matthews (p. 94 /untranslated/) probably also did not do anything along this line.

Those three or four men who occasionally referred to the Christian idea of God or who read aloud a chapter from the Bible, Weddell (p. 69 /untranslated/), for example, were personally certain that their references had not the slightest influence. Incidentally, it is not like rough sailors when they land and happen to be with a few natives for a short time to fill those hours with preaching their own Christianity and Christian moral precepts (17). Even if one

17. On page 333 /untranslated/ it was described how many of the navigators in the Cape Horn region behaved toward the natives; they surely did not inspire respect for the white race among those primitive children of nature.

were to assume this improbability, no serious critic could concede that so brief an influence, which would necessarily have taken place without sufficient knowledge of the language on both sides, would provide a lasting effect and an inner transformation on the part of the Fuegians.

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The definite determination to educate these people according to the Christian religion -- which, as has just been said, could not have been true of the sailors on their voyages through southern waters -- was, however, by contrast, the driving force among the missionaries who settled in that archipelago. Despite years of contact with the Yamana, they were the very ones, above all Bridges himself, who not only deny that the Indians had their own religious ideas and practices, /1076/ but who are constantly lamenting the poor success of their efforts which, in any case, reached only a few. None of these missionaries gives definite data about which Christian

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truths and ideas the natives adopted, much less about whether they adapted their everyday lives to them. The missionaries did not achieve a genuine, inner transformation of their pupils and charges (p. 328 /untranslated/). In any case, no specific Christian idea is to be found in the religious heritage of the Yamana described above. What one Fuegian or another may have absorbed from the teaching of the missionaries remained, as can be shown, a mere bit of new information, for example, the English word "God." This slight increase of knowledge had no effect whatever; the Fuegian definitely separates it from his ancient heritage and even regards it as, for him, superfluous.

In particular one should note the small number of natives who, with few exceptions, always stayed at the various stations for only a short time (p. 312 /untranslated/), as well as the vast areas never reached by missionary influence, and, finally, the great fear the people had of coming near the mission stations after the ravages of epidemics. During the first decades mutual exchanges were greatly handicapped by insufficient knowledge of the language. The mere fact that small groups of natives listened attentively to English does not prove that they understood everything, much less that they would sooner or later have translated it into action from inner conviction (18).

18. On the subject of the natives sent to Isla Keppel, J. Lawrence (MM:VI, 37; 1872) writes, characteristically, on October 17, 1871: "Whenever I give them religious instruction..., they are most attentive, and while I endeavour, though very imperfectly, to explain to them some portion of Holy Scripture, they listen always with deep interest. If I question them as to their knowledge of Scriptural things, they confess they know very little, at the same time express their desire to know much more" /cited in English/.

They behaved as the missionaries wanted them to, and they also took part in the religious service and in the Bible reading as often

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as they were urged to do so (19). Did this make them faithful

19. The prayer meetings of the Indians are always described by the missionaries as good or successful. But what is to indicate that these "savages" took part from inner conviction? In his account Lewis (MM:VI, 90;1872), for example, mentions that the Yamana "George Despard informed me he himself had been to some of the other people's wigwams talking to them of all he knew concerning the future world, and remarked that some listened attentively to what he said, whilst others would not listen" /cited in English/.

Christians? Spegazzini (a):180, for example, emphatically denies it: "The catechized Indian generally does not believe, and when I asked some servants of the English missionaries if they believed, they replied: 'And you have seen the spirits of the woods /monte/ and of the water?'... Those who believe do so solely in order to make use of the missionaries /1977/... The children of the establishment [of the mission] leave and find themselves without tools, without social backing, without anything; they have to live, and they go back to living as their parents did" /translated from Spanish/. In this environment they quickly lose everything that teaching offered them. From the start Spegazzini (ibid.) regards any attempt to influence older children as useless: "An Indian older than ten is not responsive to civilization; he already has his principles of freedom and laziness too deeply rooted in his soul" /translated from Spanish/. The number of baptisms and marriages solemnized at the mission stations is remarkably small (p. 331 /untranslated/). Bridges however, translated individual sections of the New Testament and recently Williams published a few prayers in Yamana (20), but I do not know of a single Fuegian

20. Cooper:73 and 135 collected the bibliographic details. Compare also my data on page 146 /untranslated/ and some supplementary material in Gusinde (II):274.

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771 who could have read these writings with understanding and profit.
791 It has likewise not been shown that those who received special in-
177 struction transmitted their knowledge to their compatriots (21).

21. Despard (b):733 praises Button's good memory and says that the latter told on Isla Keppel "whatever he had learnt of religion and morality -- not much of these last, to be sure... When questioned as to the efforts he had made to impart his acquired notions of religion to his countrymen, he replied, 'Yes; me tell God very good, make everything; Jesus Christ God's Son, very good -- die. My people stupid -- no sabby [no saber]; I no tell more'" /cited in English/.

If one carefully surveys the entire religious heritage of the Yamana, its individuality is clearly apparent and nowhere can an amalgamation with Christian ideas be demonstrated. The belief in Watauineiwa is not the result of missionary influence.

Without any doubt it proves to be the special heritage of the Yamana, which they held and cherished long before their first contact with Europeans. My own research, and particularly the wholly unusual, accidental way in which I personally stumbled upon their religious heritage (p. 958), in itself explains why it was withheld from other visitors and even from the missionaries. It is not necessary to repeat the details; they have been fully presented.

1. Its Intrinsic Value

771 Many unequivocal circumstances definitely and clearly
776 testify that the Yamana have preserved their heritage of religious ideas and practices and have transmitted it from ancient times to the present. Quite generally, these ideas and practices are to them a logical postulate of their thinking. This is not to credit them with a particular gift for philosophical speculation, but their

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771 driving power and active cause behind any occurrence whatever,
776 especially behind events of decisive import, then discussions, no matter how long, would change nothing, and the person affected has no recourse but to realize his own helplessness and to yield weakly to the situation imposed upon him. As may be expected, this decision restores his mental balance and calms even the greatest surges of fury against the severest losses and the bitterest disappointments. One must see these Fuegians on the occasion of a general funeral rite, yamalaʃemóina. Everyone in the company of others acts as though he were mad with grief, and a few hours later, at any rate by evening of the same day, ruefully and full of confidence, he again turns to /1079/ his Hidábuan with sincere requests for forgiveness and pardon for his excited, irreverent behavior which, he says, was, after all, not entirely unjustified.

771 The complete contentment which their religious heritage
•791 gives the Yamana has prevented any desire for more. That is why
177 they regarded the Christian teachings presented to them by the English missionaries as utterly superfluous. It can scarcely be proved that a single one of them was drawn to these missionaries from a pure desire for Christian truths. In fact, the missionaries had great trouble getting a few children to stay in their stations for any length of time and occasionally gathering together a few adults for a religious service and instruction. The following statements illuminate the whole situation like a strong light. Mary told me that as a girl she was taken into the house of the Lawrence family in Ushuaia for a few months to do all kinds of work. She once described to me her usual occupations and also pointed out that every day ended with a short reading from the Bible, to which the missionary added a few explanations about his God. I asked her to tell me whether she welcomed this, whereupon she replied with surprising candor: "Oh well, I listened to everything. Mister Lawrence kept speaking about his God. He said: 'Our Lord' /cited in English throughout this passage/ demands that everyone be a good human being, that everyone work hard, that no one steal from another, and that no man have anything to do with another's wife, that we should all get along with each other. And he repeated all kinds of other things. But what he told us about his 'Our Lord,' all this Watáuineiwa revealed to the Yamana long

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111 before, all this was always known to our own ancestors. So we
197 don't need his 'Our Lord'! Our Watauinéiwa is enough for us, and
177 what he has told us suffices. I always realized that, each time Lawrence spoke of his 'Our Lord.' As was proved by my questions, Mary actually adopted nothing from Christianity. The attitude of Nelly Lawrence is even more convincing. As the daughter-in-law of this missionary, she lived in the same house with him for several years and was in daily contact with this deeply religious man. After I became acquainted with Watauinéiwa through her efforts, she no longer hesitated to refer to him. She plainly showed me how pleased she was that I, too, sincerely enjoyed her religious views. Not for that reason alone, however, but out of innermost conviction she confessed to me that the traditional Watauinéiwa faith was perfectly adequate for her and that she felt no desire for the thing John Lawrence so often mentioned about his "Lord" /cited in English/. "Everything that the Yamana tell about our Watauinéiwa is incomparably more beautiful!" She repeated this conviction to me several times with proud self-confidence. In the general register of baptisms there is no mention that she was baptized /1080/ (p. 331 /untranslated/), and I never discovered any traces of Christian faith in her, but in her ideas about Hidáhuan she felt happy and content; hers was really a deeply religious nature.

776 For the Yamana their Supreme Being is certainly no super-
781 natural figure passively hidden beyond the stars, but rather someone they feel close to. They connect many of the minor details of everyday life with him, and by no means only the startling events. On August 9, 1923, I was in Punta Remolino, sitting at supper with the Lawrence family. Fred had a hired man in his service who came from Chiloé and who was old and quite stupid. Once again he had proved extremely awkward in his work, and Fred's description of it was so vivid that we all had to laugh heartily. Only Nelly remained serious and warned her husband with the following words: "Don't talk disparagingly about that old man. Watauinéiwa doesn't like it at all and will punish you for it. One must not make fun of old people!" Her reprimand to the whole group was so natural and serious that we were dumbfounded and, without demur, stopped laughing.

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2. Its Characteristics

776 197 177 In a critical evaluation of the originality of the Watayineiwa faith the decisive fact is that the deity's characteristics and personality as imagined by the Yamana harmonize very well with the general psychology and the personal character of these Fuegians. To begin with it must be pointed out that clearly recognizable Christian characteristics are lacking. Not the slightest trace of the salient details which were constantly repeated in the teachings of the missionaries has remained among our Indians (22). Only

> 22. For example, Despard (VP:VI,29:1858) asserts that he taught J. Button about Jesus Christ, and Lawrence (MM:XXXI,143;1897) reports that for his part he constantly spoke of the Lord Jesus.

the words "God" and "Our Lord" /cited in English/ are mentioned, but their meaning is synonymous with what the Indians themselves have put into the name of their Supreme Being. They also remember the references of the missionaries and individual farmers to the resurrection of the body, for it completely disconcerted them.

The Yamana have come to the conclusion that both figures are more or less one and the same person, and they make comparisons. On March 8, 1923, Nelly once again came to my room, accompanied this time by Sara, the Lipaldewaiskipe and wife of Pedro Mafemihem. Sara gave me a small basket as a present. In return I hastened to give her a string of beads and a small mirror. While Sara was looking at herself in the glass, Nelly discovered a picture of St. Joseph on the back. He was portrayed as a venerable older man with a long white beard. Nelly said to Sara: "Look at the other side, there is the Watayineiwa of the Christians!" When this name was mentioned, Sara was somewhat taken aback, but not markedly, and she asked Nelly softly: "Does this Martin [Gusinde] know who our Watayineiwa is?" Nelly nodded affirmatively. Sara was content with that and obviously relieved. Only then did she look at the picture thoughtfully and turned to me.

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saying distinctly: "Wesayinkwe Mnegishka (23) henanéaia (the

23. BD:181 translates this word: "to come up in order to take care of" /cited in English/. In the ancient prayer formulas it is often repeated with the same meaning.

old-one-up-there is concerned about us!" Her meaning was: Just as your Wesayinkwe takes care of you, the Whites, so /1082/ our Wesayinkwe is concerned about us! She said this quite naturally and without constraint while I was busy tying up the package from which I had taken the present. I did not influence her in any way. Among the Yamana the thought of their Supreme Being is actually ever present and not by any means concealed behind many other impressions and images from their everyday life. In judging this statement one must note the valuable fact that Lara's home is on the Wollaston Islands which were never influenced by English missionaries; she, therefore, had no definite conception of Christianity. Nevertheless she draws a definite dividing line between her own Wesayinkwe and a similar person who watches over the face of Whites.

If our Fuegians are confronted with contrary or deviant European ideas, they usually refrain from asserting their own conception and defending it as the only correct one and as though the others were wrong. Nevertheless they once rebelled against their fellow-villagemen Okokko whom the missionaries had sent to them as their teacher. Bridges (VSA:XII,170;1863) reports: "Lucca told me that Oukokkoo (he not being present) had often spoken to his people of God, or heaven and hell, and what sort of people should live in them; his people being very proud and bad would not listen, and were sometimes very angry, and told that Oukokkoo told lies; that as he had never seen nor heard God they would not believe, and that man and all things had ever been as they are, without beginning and therefore without a Maker. One man, they said, pretended to be Jesus Christ;' some were afraid to be in hell, and wished to become quiet as a requisite preparation for heaven; some threatened to kill Oukokkoo, but were afraid of" /Acting in English/. The Yamana were particularly excited by the missionaries' reference to the resurrection of the dead and a life of the

/1082 cont./

human soul after death under the most disparate conditions imaginable, in sharp contrast to their own faith. I myself experienced this. During a burial, while the corpse in the grave was being covered with earth, an old man, in the helplessness of his grief, turned to me with the following words which sounded very scornful: "There he lies, my cousin. And yet you Europeans say: 'Every corpse will leave its grave and become that which it was in life.' No, there is no such thing!" This man, like all his countrymen, was simply not to be converted to the new teachings of the missionaries; he clung to the traditions handed down by his forefathers. They always know how to make a sharp division between their own indigenous body of ideas and newly introduced, foreign conceptions or views.

Furthermore, a characteristic feature of the religious ideas of our Fuegians is their pronounced simplicity. The Supreme Being even lacks a proper name. Every Yamana is named after his /1083/ birthplace (p. 536). Is it not logical, therefore, that "the-one-up-there" has no such name because he was not born in the homeland of our Indians? Instead they use circumlocutions as ordinary social conventions. The names for the Supreme Being emphasize particular characteristics which are, however, intensified to the utmost. In both directions, therefore, tribal customs with regard to name-giving are transferred to him. If here below an aged person is shown general respect, all the more is this due the foremost and true "old one," Watauinéwa. Similarly, the few remaining characteristics applied to him are part of the everyday events and social customs of the Yamana people. The fact remains, however, that he is a spirit and therefore exhibits forms of being that differ from people here on earth. Nothing specific is known about these forms. Truly, the Fuegian is consistent in his simple thinking, even concerning his deity.

Finally the considerable number and the diversity of their prayer formulas must be noted. The archaic wording speaks for itself. The Indians themselves vouch for the great age of these short sayings because they contain many words and word combinations that have long since disappeared from ordinary speech. In addition there is the opinion of the aged John Lawrence and his sons who were well versed in the language and several times expressed

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themselves along the same lines. John Lawrence, after he had examined those formulas for the first time, assured me emphatically: "I have been associated with the Tamana for all of 53 years and I never learned anything whatever about this!" He examined them carefully and said afterward: "Neither the names for the native deity nor the prayer formulas disclose any kind of borrowing from our Christian conceptions. Everything throughout has the stamp of the original and genuine heritage of the Tamana!" He felt it necessary to point out emphatically and repeatedly that the words and grammatical construction of the prayer formulas are not current in the language spoken today (24).

> 24. The opportunity is open to everyone to examine these data, for we have Bridges' dictionary and a number of grammatical studies from the pen of Hunermann. Bridges' translations of the New Testament could also be used for comparison.

Stimulated by this new information, John Lawrence made personal investigations which added to the material. He began by asking general questions about Watanigua of this or that aged Indian, all of whom were friendly and confiding. Later when he discussed with other people the religious ideas and prayer formulas which were now familiar to him, he obtained the same result: "This heritage of ideas is an unadulterated, genuine, and unique possession of the /1984/ Tamana!" The whole discovery gave him sincere and lasting pleasure. He realized how much more favorably these greatly misunderstood Fuegians must be judged if they possess such a beautiful, pure conception of God and practice religion. In the twilight of its existence this much maligned people had the great satisfaction of knowing that now at last European circles will obtain full knowledge of this ancient Watanigua faith. John Lawrence expressed his admiration for the research work and frankly confessed: "Even if I could live here another 50 or 100 years, the natives would not give me the trust that you enjoy among them!"

He viewed his long years of mission work, which had ended earlier, in the light of this unexpected experience. He was honest

/1184 cont./

enough to recognize clearly how very much this work would have been facilitated and advanced if it had been joined to the indigenous store of religious ideas. As though to reproach himself, he candidly complained: "If only I had looked for these things 40 or 50 years ago, how very differently our work would have developed! But at that time we were commonly preoccupied with what Darwin maintained about these natives, that they were completely irreligious." Deceived by this, the missionaries all systematically avoided a deeper insight into the habits and practices of the Indians. Consequently, much was concealed and withheld from them which would have helpfully supported their efforts to educate the natives and to make Christians of them. Repeatedly and without reservation John Lawrence admitted that the many details which make up the religious treasure of the Tarascos should by no means be regarded as something brought to them by the missionaries. This honest admission deserves consideration. One day I described to him in detail the procedure of a large funeral rite and the initiation of the medicine-man school, both of which I personally experienced. He grew enthusiastic, but complained anew: "If it had occurred to me in the early days to visit such demonstrations, I would certainly also have learned, to the great advantage of my mission work, what these Indians believe and how they pray. But we missionaries were never enlightened about the fact that primitive peoples also have their own spiritual treasures!" To excuse [illegible] the beginning of their activity terrific obstacles had to be overcome before the way could be prepared for contact with the Indians. One should not, however, cite the decades-long inexperience in native affairs of this worthy missionary as proof against the originality of the religious ideas of the Tarascos.

During the discussions just mentioned the three sons of John Lawrence were also often present. Agreeing perfectly, they recognized /1185/ everything put before them as part of the ancient, undiscovered, unique heritage of the natives. Willy, who liked to be present during our discussions, enlightened them about minor details. A/Jhere said that now and then he had heard the name Weyxiwiga mentioned,but he did not pursue the matter. Fred, on the other hand, who was probably better informed by his wife

1: Gamble--0021 8-0 (1859-1894) 1937 1088 Tahgan 0268

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711 Emily, humbly said: "I have long known that the Tsimshs worship Wrongdoer, that, according to them, he causes death, and that they have many other ideas, but I never asked the people more specifically about these things!" When we asked why he had not disclosed all this to us on his own initiative, he replied simply and truthfully: "How was I to know that people in Europe are interested in finding out about the religious ideas of the Tsimshs!" He, too, was unable to comprehend that his own father and, above all, Bridges were completely ignorant about what he had repeatedly experienced for a long time. Nevertheless this strange situation can be easily explained. The natives unanimously said: "The missionaries never asked us about these things. How could we, without having been asked, tell them about Wrongdoer?" The following thought was even more decisive: "Too often Bridges and many another [missionary] reproached us, saying that what we had [in the way of customs and institutions] is bad and worthless and that we would have to abandon it! Such words, accompanied by scornful laughter, hurt us. Besides, whenever they told us about their 'Our Lord' /Christ in English/, we realized that for the Whites he was the same as Wrongdoer is for us Tsimshs." This explanation agrees with the repeated references to the conscious reserve of the Tsimshs in front of the missionaries.

711 The Tsimshs, far from regretting the undisguised frankness with which they exposed their most precious spiritual possessions to us, are proud that we now venerate their Wrongdoer. For decades they were obliged to accept disbelief, ridicule because of the lack of knowledge of Europeans and to be discredited by the missionaries because they clung to their Wrongdoer. Now at last we show a genuine and frank appreciation for their "Old-one-up-there" whom they call "Sedem." This gives them great satisfaction. Now at last they see fulfilled a wish they have long cherished, namely, appreciation for their Wrongdoer. Their eyes shine when we tell them frankly: "Your Wrongdoer is for you what our God is for us Christians!" They regard this comparison as a sign of the sincere esteem of the Whites for the spirit-being whom they regard as most sacred and who stands majestically above everything visible.

The facts which must be summarized and evaluated as the religious possessions of our Tsimshs are rich and many-sided.

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TIS nothing after death. Anyway this was true for the most part. They had a word expressive of death Cagagalu, the meaning of which seems to convey an idea of an after spiritual state" /cited in English/. Dahlgren (b):102, Spegazzini (a):172, and others repeat the same view. This word, with which, at times, a kind of idolatry was set forth in many a treatise (Cooper:151), is an ordinary intransitive verb and means, according to BD:196, given as kāgāgulū, "to die, to cease to be, get used up; be all gone or spent" /cited in English/. Often this verb has its original meaning and is not used exclusively in the sense of "to die." One could use kāhāpana with the same meaning.

The complete uncertainty of the Yamana about the fate and condition of a departed soul evokes that unusually high degree of grief among the ones left behind which strikes every outside observer. Their demonstrations of mourning are likewise very pathetic and deeply moving because they are born out of despair, as it were, because after death a reunion is impossible. /1098/ I was repeatedly told: "With death everything [every connection] between us and the kēipif ceases. We do not know how the kēipif comes when a child starts to live; nor do we know where his kēipif goes afterwards. It goes far away, far beyond the sea!" Emily Lawrence once showed me an old photograph. It showed several persons who were together at one of the mission stations, only four of whom are still alive. Emphatically and seriously, but quite ironically she answed me: "The old Yamana, even my own father and I myself, have never been able to believe that we would all see each other again after death. The missionaries maintain this, but none of us can believe it. Why, everyone can see how the corpse is laid into the earth and decays there; after a few years nothing is left of it. The talk of the missionaries is trickery; they want to deceive us. We never believed them and we don't believe it to this day!" After a short time she repeated, with a mocking smile: "There simply cannot be a reunion because the corpse completely disintegrates!" Her words were not in any way provoked by me, but they brought her visible relief. She often discussed this topic in detail with her people, and it seemed to me that this time she also wanted to confess openly to me: We Yamana will not let ourselves be deceived by anyone, not even the missionaries; we shall inviolably cling to our own truths which seem plausible

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775 797 to us! There is some tragicomedy in the fact that the daughter-in-law of the missionary John Lawrence should have so expressed herself! With such tendencies on the part of our Fuegians it would be a psychological monstrosity to maintain that the figure of Watayinéiwa was taken entirely from the Europeans. This one example shows how strictly they keep their own religious heritage separate from the teachings of their missionaries. They have their own explanation, derived from their characteristic habits of thought, for the divergent attitude of Christians. "The Christians," [551] I was told by the Yamana, "do not show nearly as much pain and grief for a dead person as we do! They do not even change their name" (36). It grieves our Indians to repeat the name of a dead

36. The conditions under which someone changes his name if it is identical with that of a deceased person will be given on p. 1060.

person, but this does not affect the less sensitive Christians. 775 Gertie said: "We are immeasurably sad when one of our people dies because we do not know what comes after death. We do not know whether we shall be able to see and speak to the kespif or how they are and whether they are happy. All that we do not know, that is why we are so sad and why we weep a great deal!"

They do admit the possibility of seeing one of their de- 775 ceased relatives again, although they are not strictly logical about 781 it. Many a /1099/ Yamana said: "When I am very sad and long to see them, when I keep thinking about them, they finally come to me. I see them in my dream. They are not just dream images, they are the real kespif!" In my opinion these words point to particularly vivid dreams or actual visions which cause the delusion. It is all the more striking that in the Hašamáif wátuwa it is said that the kespif of four deceased brothers and their malevolent brother-in-law returned as actual human beings after their violent deaths and temporarily were in contact with their unsuspecting nephew, like real people, but their behavior is described as that of mentally inferior persons. It is only in this story, not anywhere else, that the souls of deceased persons appear.

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775 view. Spencer:101 generalizes an idea which, as such, is correct: "When he dies, the spirit remains alive and roams around place where he dies" /cited in English/.

775 The Yamana assume that the souls far out above the sea
791 move about freely and are not limited to a definite place or crowded together. Several times they clearly and definitely asserted: "It was the missionaries who first told us that the késpif of good human beings are assembled in a place apart from those of bad people. Everyone will be reunited there! The Yamana never said anything like this, and we still do not believe it. A person who has died remains invisible and inaccessible to all others. We do not know whether later on the késpif recognize each other and whether they still remember this country here [their home]. The missionaries tried to comfort us in our great sorrow with words like these. They did not succeed, for we know better what happens to the késpif!" Without doubt the explanations of the missionaries /1101/ provoked determined opposition among the Fuegians. This sample also shows how they consciously separate their own religious heritage from the new teachings. They are actually proud of themselves and regard themselves as victors over the missionaries who tried in vain to substitute their so-called false views for the truth contained in the old Indian tradition (39).

39. Spears:71 says the same thing in different words: "When the missionaries would have spoken to the Yahgan of his dead relatives they could not without offending him seriously" /cited in English/. This kind of statement shows the great weight of actual facts.

775 For the souls of their dead collectively the Yamana use the general expression ûlulusấla, that is, the people of the ûluluf. BD:91 treats ûlûuf as synonymous with kóopix. They know nothing

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
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interests in the Far East, the route thither by way of Tierra del Fuego became a matter of national importance, so that surveying expeditions under the command of Captain King and later Captain Fitzroy were despatched to Magellanic waters.[1] Captain Fitzroy brought back to England after his first voyage a Yahgan and three Alacaluf Indians. On his second voyage he was accompanied by Charles Darwin, the celebrated naturalist. The era of exact and scientific study of the natives of Tierra del Fuego was thus initiated.

Fitzroy's and Darwin's account of the Fuegians attracted wide notice in England, while the primitive society, destitution, and ferocity they pictured engendered a desire to Christianize that far-off people. The public in England were further roused by the fate of Captain Allen Gardiner and his companions, amateur missionaries who died of privation and exposure under tragic circumstances in 1851.[2] As a result the South American Missionary Society was organized and a mission station was set up on Keppel island (West Falklands). In 1856 this station was placed in charge of Canon G. Pakenham Despard, who brought with him a thirteen-year-old adopted boy, Thomas Bridges. Young Bridges soon learned to speak the Yahgan tongue fluently. In 1869 he returned to England, where he was ordained and married. The following year he founded at Ushuaia the first mission station on Tierra del Fuego. With him he brought as an assistant John Lawrence.[3] After many years' labor as a missionary Mr. Bridges retired, and in recognition of his services in opening up the country was given a land grant at Harberton by the Argentine government where he raised sheep. Mr. Lawrence received a similar grant at Remolino.

Bridges and Lawrence children were born on Beagle channel on the south coast of Tierra del Fuego, and were reared in close association with the Yahgan Indians. The Lawrence family, who still live at Remolino, today have an unsurpassed knowledge of Yahgan customs and linguistics. The Bridges brothers, as they grew up, began to explore to the north and east across the mountains, and finally secured for themselves a vast property on the east coast, today a flourishing sheep ranch known as the Estancia

[1] See Narrative of the Surveying Voyages of H. M. S. *Adventure* and *Beagle*, 3 vols., London, 1839.

[2] For a full but sentimental account of this event see Jesse Page, "Captain Allen Gardiner," London, n.d.

[3] A full account of these events is given in the booklet by John U. Marsh, First Fruits of the South American Mission, London, 1873.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
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great industry objected to having their sheep killed, and they retaliated by killing the Indians.

Thus there soon sprang into being a class of professional head-hunters, recruited from the shepherds and miners, who received one pound sterling from the ranchers for each Indian head—man, woman, or child. The Indians, on foot and armed with bows and arrows, had little chance in the open plains against horsemen with rifles. Some of the atrocities committed in the '80's are recounted by Fuentes Rabe;[1] the writer heard from discrete and trustworthy sources many similar tales of brutality.

In 1891 a Salesian mission was established on Dawson island, and in 1893 a second station was set up at Cape Peñas and later transferred to Rio Grande. Although dedicated for three-quarters of a century to the eradication of troublesome Indians, the Government decided to stop the scandals arising from head-hunting by turning the Indians over to the missions. To this end troops scoured the country, rounded up the natives, and drove them like cattle to the mission stations. Families were mercilessly broken up. Strange foods caused sickness and implanted the belief that they were being poisoned. Unaccustomed European clothes and indoor quarters—as in so many well-intended missionary efforts—brought pneumonia and tuberculosis, and augmented the effect of their vitamin-deficient diet. Liquor and venereal diseases, against which Indians have surprisingly little resistance, both took their toll. Few indeed survived the "civilizing" process. Today the Dawson Island mission has been abandoned. The east-coast mission still existed in 1924, ostensibly to support two aged native women in idleness, in reality as a prosperous sheep ranch.

The record of the white settlers in Tierra del Fuego, with of course certain splendid exceptions, is not one to be reviewed with pride; not the Indians but Europeans have proved the greater savages. Missionary efforts, however well intended, have hastened the course of their neophytes to the grave. No more striking example can be adduced of the importance of anthropological and medical training for those who would change the religion and alter the habits of heathen peoples.

One of the chief ethnological results of the northern missions has been the establishment of the Museo Rejional "Mayorino Borgatello" at Punta Arenas. Unfortunately the ethnological

[1] 1933, II, 177–183.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

PART II

CANOE INDIANS

THE YAHGAN

[0] THE Yahgan Indians, the southernmost people in the world, lived on the southern shores of Tierra del Fuego from Brecknock peninsula to Spaniard harbor, and on the adjacent islands southward to Cape Horn itself (pl. IV). In spite of the tempestuous waters they confronted, they were a seafaring people and derived their livelihood almost entirely from the sea and its beaches.

[172] Like the Ona, the Yahgan had to move freely and frequently in search of sustenance, but their camping-places were limited by the fact that each family was dependent on a fragile bark canoe, for which shelter must be provided. Thus favorable stretches of beach today are marked by great refuse-heaps, of most extraordinary size when one recalls that they represent only temporary stopping-places and that no family ever camped on a spot where it was known that a death had occurred. Centuries or even milleniums must have witnessed the building up of these vast agglomerations of bone and shell.

[177] [197] The Yahgan came under missionary influence in the middle of the nineteenth century, and a permanent mission station was maintained among them from 1870 until recently. Hence their culture was much modified before they could be studied by trained ethnologists. For instance, by the eighties they had modified their initiation rites. We must add that among the Ona those without missionary training tended to survive the longest, but among the Yahgan the last survivors have almost invariably been mission reared.

[142] Writing nearly a century ago, Fitzroy (pp. 137–139, 186) thus describes the untrammeled Yahgan of his day:

> The Tekeenica, natives of the south-eastern portion of Tierra del Fuego, are low of stature, ill-looking, and badly proportioned. Their color is that of very old mahogany, or rather between dark copper and

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

Among the Yahgan, marriage by capture seems to have been less common than among the Ona. A woman given in marriage by her father against her will soon abandoned the undesired husband. In fact the Yahgan showed a tendency to change husbands and wives not infrequently, which we may term progressive polygamy. According to Rev. Thomas Bridges (1884, p. 206) a man might have from one to four wives at a time, but the number was not fixed by custom.

Infidelity resulted in no fixed form of punishment, but both the offending man and woman were apt to be beaten. Shortly before our arrival a Yahgan man had disappeared. It was rumored that his wife, enraged at his amours, had beaten him with a paddle and accidentally killed him.

Children

In the old days, to judge by the number of deserted orphans set down in the mission records, the Yahgan did not greatly devote themselves to the care of the children. Abortion seems to have been a common practice, and infanticide we judge was not rare. To reach the facts is somewhat difficult because early explorers did not have sufficient knowledge to describe such practices, and the mission contact soon put an end to them or drove them under cover.

Soon after birth had taken place the Yahgan mother bathed in the sea and the new-born child was also immersed in order to toughen it. This was a rather terrible ordeal for an infant, for the sea temperatures of winter and summer range from 40° to 50° Fahrenheit, while the air at best could be described as no warmer than temperate. We have no figures to show what mortality this custom entailed, yet cannot but believe that soon after birth all but the most vigorous and robust infants were thus ruthlessly eliminated.

After delivery, not only the mother but the father as well was expected to rest for a week or more. In this custom we see incipient couvade.

Games and Amusements

The Yahgan to pass the time indulged in various simple games and in singing and dancing. Of necessity the young boys devoted much care and time to practice with spear, bow and arrow, sling, and stones; but while these exercises often assumed the form of

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SHS Tehualche

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